

Message Text

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ORIGIN PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /017 R

DRAFTED BY S/PRS: FZBROWN
APPROVED BY S/PRS: FZBROWN
S/S - MR. GAMBLE

-----071720Z 077265 /50

O 071650Z MAY 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 104862 TOSEC 040075

FOR HODDING CARTER FROM S/PRS - FRED BROWN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTS: SULZBERGER ON SUMMIT
NO. 7

1. HERewith THE FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE BY C.L. SULZBERGER
APPEARING NEW YORK TIMES MAY 7 ENTITLED "NUCLEAR GAMES AT
THE SUMMIT."

2. BEGIN TEXT:

-- LONDON--PRESIDENT CARTER RIGHTLY RECOGNIZES BOTH THE
DANGERS AND BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AS FAR AS POTENTIAL
WARTIME AND PEACETIME USAGE IS CONCERNED, BUT HE WILL
HAVE TO PROVE HIMSELF MORE PEACEMAKER THAN PACEMAKER IF HE
IS TO GAIN ANY SUBSTANTIAL HARMONY AT THIS WEEKEND'S
LONDON SUMMIT.

-- ALMOST CERTAINLY THE MOST EXPLOSIVE CONCRETE SUBJECT
IS THAT TO BE DISCUSSED IN NUCLEAR TALKS AMONG THE AMERICAN
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CHIEF OF STATE, HIS FRENCH ANALOGUE, VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING,
AND WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT, BRITISH PRIME
MINISTER JAMES CALLAGHAN WILL BE PRESENT BUT RELATIVELY
SUBDUED.

- FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY ARE QUARRELING OPENLY WITH
THE UNITED STATES ON THIS AND PRIVATELY WITH EACH OTHER.

THE LATTER PRIVATE QUARREL IS MORE DANGEROUS TO WESTERN UNITY THAN THE PUBLICIZED DISPUTE WITH WASHINGTON. FOR THE FRENCH ARE BEGINNING TO MUTTER THAT THE GERMANS ARE EDGING TOWARD A CAPABILITY OF ATOMIC ARMS MANUFACTURE, WHICH COULD ATTAIN AN EDGE OVER FRANCE AND ADD TO THEIR ALREADY ASCENDANT CONVENTIONAL FORCES, TO SAY NOTHING OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ADVANTAGES.

- DESPITE RESTRICTIONS ACCEPTED BY THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT ON MANUFACTURE AND/OR POSSESSION OF ATOMIC WARHEADS, THIS TOPIC HAS ALWAYS BEEN DELICATE IN PARIS-BONN RELATIONS. IN DECEMBER 1957, JACQUES CHABAN-DELMAS, THEN DEFENSE MINISTER IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT OF FELIX GAILLARD, PROPOSED A SECRET BILATERAL DEAL TO FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS, CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S DEFENSE MINISTER.

- MR. CHABAN ASKED MR. STRAUSS FOR ASSURANCES OF GERMAN SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING A FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE, PROMISING ACCESS TO THE RESULTING WEAPONS IN EXCHANGE. STRAUSS AGREED AND PARIS BELIEVES ADENAUER WAS FULLY AU COURANT.

- IN JULY 1958, SHORTLY AFTER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC DIS-INTEGRATED, MR. STRAUSS RAISED THE MATTER WITH CHARLES DE GAULLE'S FIRST DEFENSE MINISTER, PIERRE GUILLAUMAT. MR. GUILLAUMAT BRUSQUELY TURNED MR. STRAUSS'S INQUIRIES ASIDE. A SENIOR FRENCH DIPLOMAT WAS LATER SENT TO THE GERMAN DEFENSE MINISTER TO EXPLAIN THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT EMBARK ON A SECRET BILATERAL NUCLEAR PROJECT WITH BONN
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THAT WOULD RISK POISONING RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON. THE DEAL WAS DEAD.

- DE GAULLE, OF COURSE, WENT AHEAD WITH THE ATOMIC FORCE DE FRAPPE THAT THE FOURTH REPUBLIC'S LEADERS FIRST BLUEPRINTED AFTER THEIR HUMILIATION IN THE 1956 SUEZ WAR. BUT BONN STAYED WHOLLY OUT OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FIELD.

- A SPECIAL FREINDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO OLD ENEMIES FEATURED DE GAULLE'S EUROPEAN OUTLOOK AND WAS CONTINUED-- WITH LESS ENTHUSIASM-- BY GEORGES POMPIDOU AND NOW GISCARD D'ESTAING. WHAT WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST BEHIND THE SCENES AT THE SUMMIT IS THE REMAINDER OF THAT POLICY.

- BOTH FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY HAVE INCURRED OPPOSITION FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE PLANS TO SELL

PAKISTAN AND BRAZIL URANIUM-ENRICHMENT AND FUEL-REPROCESS-
ING PLANTS THAT COULD PRODUCE PLUTONIUM, THE MOST COMMON

EXPLOSIVE IN H-BOMB WARHEADS. THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN CONTRACT WAS SIGNED IN 1975 AND THE FRENCH-PAKISTAN ONE IN 1976.

- SINCE HIS INAUGURATION MR CARTER HAS STEPPED UP UNITED STATES OPPOSITION TO THESE DEALS, INSISTING INADEQUATE INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS ARE PROVIDED TO PREVENT MILITARY MANUFACTURES.

- MR. SCHMIDT, ALREADY IRKED BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S "HUMAN RIGHTS" FOREIGN POLICY, ECONOMIC PRODDING AND REFUSAL TO ACCEPT A GERMAN GUN FOR NATO'S NEXT HEAVY TANK, HAS FINALLY TURNED DOWN WASHINGTON. FRANCE HAS TAKEN NO FORMAL STEP BUT MIGHT YET CANCEL THE REPROCESSING ASPECT OF ITS PAKISTANI ACCORD.

- ONE EUROPEAN ARGUMENT AGAINST U.S. EFFORTS TO RESTRICT PLUTONIUM AS AN ENERGY SOURCE IS THAT EUROPE'S URANIUM SUPPLIES ARE FAR SMALLER THAN NORTH AMERICA'S. IT HOPES UNCLASSIFIED

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BREEDER REACTORS THAT PRODUCE PLUTONIUM WILL LESSEN DEPENDENCE ON AMERICAN URANIUM.

- HOWEVER, WASHINGTON FEELS A PARTICULAR TROUBLE WITH THE PAKISTAN AND BRAZIL DEALS IS THAT THE FORMER WANTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO COUNTER ARGENTINA'S STRIDES IN THAT DIRECTION (AIDED BY INDIAN SCIENTISTS).

- MR. CARTER PROMISES TO SUPPLY NATIONS ACCEPTING HIS REPROCESSING RESTRICTIONS WITH SUFFICIENT AND ENRICHED URANIUM TO MEET THEIR NEEDS. WEST GERMANY RESENTS THIS AS DEPENDENCE ON AMERICA, AS DO MANY NATIONALISTIC FRENCHMEN, ESPECIALLY GAULLISTS, WITH WHOM GISCARD IS QUARRELING ALTHOUGH HE DEPENDS ON THEIR POLITICAL SUPPORT IN NEXT YEAR'S ELECTIONS.

- TO CATER TO GAULLISM, MR. GISCARD REFUSED TO ATTEND MR. CALLAGHAN'S WORKING DINNER FOR SUMMIT LEADERS ON THE GROUND THAT ROY JENKINS, PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION, WAS PRESENT WITH IMPLIED "CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT"

STATUS.

- WHETHER AMERICAN'S DIPLOMACY CAN SMOOTH THIS NASTY
HODGEPODGE OF U.S. ARGUMENT'S WITH FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY
AND FRENCH QUARRELS WITH AND FEAR OF THE GERMANS IS
UNCERTAIN. AND MR. CARTER'S EFFORT TO FIND OUT WHAT
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EUROPE WANTS IS LIKELY TO BE CONFUSED BY THE DISCOVERY THAT
DIFFERENT VOICES WILL BE ASKING FOR VERY DIFFERENT THINGS.
END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, SUMMIT MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 07-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE104862
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: FZBROWN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770161-0529
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770582/aaaacspn.tel
Line Count: 184
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: af980799-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PRS
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2607352
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS REPORTS: SULZBERGER ON SUMMIT NO. 7
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, PARM, TECH, PGOV, US, UK, GE, FR, CA, JA, IT, NEW YORK TIMES, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (SULZBERGER, C L)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/af980799-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009